



COOLING THE TROPICS

ICE, INDIGENEITY,
AND HAWAIIAN
REFRESHMENT

HI'ILEI JULIA KAWEHIPUAAKAHAOPULANI HOBART

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BUY

ELEMENTS *A series edited by*
Stacy Alaimo and Nicole Starosielski

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Wherever possible, I have sought to represent Hawaiian viewpoints as they are expressed in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, the Indigenous language of Hawai'i. The translations within this book are my own (unless otherwise indicated), and I include them alongside the originals so that others may interpret them otherwise. I am a beginner learner of 'ōlelo Hawai'i and acknowledge that there are certainly other ways to understand what these sources convey, contexts that I have missed, or references beyond my purview.

Throughout this book, words in 'ōlelo Hawai'i are not italicized in recognition that, in this context, it is not a foreign language. All quotations from Hawaiian newspapers are transcribed as they appear in print, often without diacritical marks. Likewise, citations of various works reflect the spelling of Hawaiian words as they are presented in that particular text (for example, *Hawai'i* often appears instead as *Hawaii*). Otherwise, and unless noted, my spelling of Hawaiian follows the conventions in Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary*.¹

Kanaka (countable pl. *Kānaka*; infinite pl. *Kanaka*) refers to the Indigenous people of Hawai'i. I tend to favor the term *Kanaka Maoli* here, though I also variously use *Kanaka 'Ōiwi*, *Native Hawaiian*, and *Hawaiians* to refer to those who are descended from seafaring people who arrived in these islands nearly two thousand years ago.²

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I never intended to write about Hawai‘i. The idea of it—even now—feels audacious to me: it is my piko (umbilicus), my very center, even though I have lived most of my adult life on the US continent. The pages of this book are filled with love and longing for the place of my ancestors, which will forever drive the work that I do.

A full decade in the making, this book would simply not be in the world without beloved mentors under whose guidance the earliest iterations of this project took form. Audra Simpson showed me the importance of writing to, and from, my community. Lisa Gitelman modeled good mentoring by always giving me clear, concise, and generative feedback exactly when I needed it. Krishnendu Ray’s brilliant theoretical mind helped me to imagine taste beyond flavor—an idea that is central to this book’s argument. Dean Itsuji Saranillio was one of my first teachers of Hawai‘i’s history, and I could not have been more fortunate for his arrival in New York City at a time when I had so much to learn.

The Department of Nutrition, Food Studies, and Public Health (as it was called when I began my doctorate) at New York University gave me tools for thinking about the world through food, and I am grateful to the people there who continue to nourish my first intellectual love. I owe thanks to Krishnendu Ray, Amy Bentley, Carolyn Dimitri, Marion Nestle, and Jennifer Berg for their loving guidance and training. I was especially lucky to have a doctoral cohort that felt like a family. I cherish the invaluable insights and feedback I received from Christy Spackman, Scott Barton, Shayne Figueroa, Jackie Rohel, and Sara Franklin, on early drafts, in cubicles, and over meals.

The research for this book brought me home in more ways than one. In Hawai‘i’s archives I ran my fingers over the handwriting of my kūpuna, our monarchs, and our lāhui (people) who defended the sovereignty of our homeland with tender and fierce love. I wept with them in these repositories. I am especially grateful for the work of the librarians

and archivists who safekeep these records. At the University of Hawai‘i’s Hamilton Library, Dore Minatodani guided me through the library’s massive collection, always pulling materials that I would not have even known to ask for. At the Hawai‘i State Archives, Melissa Shimonishi’s greetings by name across years of visits made me feel seen in the best kind of way; Luella Kurjistan always welcomed me back home and kindly showed me many beautiful dining artifacts belonging to ‘Iolani Palace. Heather Diamond and Zita Cup Choy opened up the ‘Iolani Palace curatorial files to me and gave me a bounty of references to follow. Estee Tanaka, the archivist for the Hawaiian Electric Company, went above and beyond by putting together packets from the company’s collections for me when I wasn’t able to come to her in person. At the Bishop Museum Archives, I owe thanks to DeSoto Brown for sharing with me his encyclopedic knowledge of Hawaiian history and technology, and to librarians Tia Reber and B. J. Short for helping me make the most of my research appointments.

I began the work of expanding and editing this book at Northwestern University. There I had the privilege of working and thinking alongside an incredible cohort of early career folks, including Douglas Ishii, Elizabeth Schwall, Michelle Huang, Sarah Dimick, Kaneesha Parsard, Umayyah Cable, Doug Kiel, Beatriz Reyes, Nell Haynes, Danny Snelson, and Emrah Yildiz, who all gave me encouragement, community, and sharp feedback. I was furthermore supported—both intellectually and personally—by the wonderful people who work at the Alice Kaplan Institute for the Humanities, especially Jill Manor, Tom Burke, and Megan Skord, as well as two of its directors, Wendy Wall and Jessica Winegar, who coached me through early academic parenthood. While these thanks may seem incidental to the making of a book, they are assuredly not. I want to thank beloved and generous colleagues Josh Honn, Kelly Wisecup, Mary Weismantel, Helen Tilley, and Daniel Immerwahr for their friendship and guidance. Northwestern also connected me with Nitasha Sharma, an extraordinary mentor and dear friend, who has held my hand through every step of the publishing process and taught me that academia can be a place for someone like me.

I had the rare privilege of coming full circle with this project at Columbia University, where its first seeds were planted, when I was invited to return as a postdoc under the mentorship of Audra Simpson and Paige West. These women opened doors for me in ways that I will never lose sight of, including organizing a manuscript workshop that provided me

a crucial road map for revisions. At that workshop, I had the transcendent honor of also receiving feedback from J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Karl Jacoby, and Andrew Needham, which was as humbling as it was useful.

While I'm using a temporal frame to guide my thanks, the accrual of intellectual debts is not linear. A long list of colleagues helped me deepen and broaden my scholarly practice across many phases of my career. David Chang's unwavering championing of my work has forever marked me. Maria John has been my sounding board, inspiration, and faithful "conference wife" since the earliest years of graduate school. Nicole Starsielski saw this project's potential in ways that even I could not imagine. About icy things I am particularly grateful to have learned from Joanna Radin, Rafico Ruiz, Jen Rose Smith, Thomas Wickman, and Rebecca Woods; about eating things I have learned from the brilliance of Stephanie Maroney, Kyla Wazana Tompkins, Sarah Tracey, Nadia Berenstein, and Jessica Hardin. Invitations to present or workshop portions of this manuscript were invaluable, and I am deeply grateful to Tracey Deutsch, Erin Suzuki, Melody Jue, Sean Brotherton, Aanchal Saraf, Joyce Chaplin, Ty Kāwika Tengan, and Cynthia Wu for providing forums for me to share my work with the many scholars across continents and oceans who have, in turn, shaped this work with their questions and insights. The Nutrire CoLab's invitation to workshop what would eventually become this book's conclusion helped me to see beyond the edges of the project toward something larger.

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The genealogy of a book can feel more defined than the genealogy of an idea, which comes from places we are sometimes not even aware of when they first take hold. Mine is anchored in a childhood in Hawai‘i, with a Kanaka Maoli mother who epitomized Hawaiian grace and a second-generation Irish father who expressed his devotion to her by researching and writing our family histories. My mom, Tessa Kamakia Magoon Dye, lived just long enough to see me to adulthood, but not to see what I would do with it. In many ways, this work attempts to teach myself what I was not able to learn directly from her. I wonder every day what conversations we might have had together about being Hawaiian, sovereignty, and love. My dad, Robert Paul Dye, whose dream for me was to one day get a doctorate, lived long enough to know that I had applied to PhD programs, but not to know that I would be accepted everywhere I had applied. My deepest hope is that my parents would be proud of how I channeled my love for Hawai‘i. My siblings, Tom, Steve, Ahia, and Kekapala, have welcomed me home for visits, research trips, and conferences. They watched me learn how to become an academic with exceptionally good humor and, at times, great patience.

As many know, the nuclear family is a fiction in Hawai‘i. The researching and writing of this book have been sustained by many lifelong friends who are better described as ‘ohana. Jill Abbott opened her

home to me when I came to Hawai‘i for my first extended research trip and has kept her door open for every visit back since. Being with her has come to feel like home in the deepest sense. Samantha Aolani Kaili-hou tutored me in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as I researched this project, for which she gets thanked several times in this book. She and her husband, Peni, have hosted me for many conferences and research trips to Hawai‘i Island and—especially—when I came in 2019 to Pu‘uhonua o Pu‘uhuluhulu with my childhood friend, and now beloved colleague, Amanda Shaw.

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In the middle of a Honolulu summer in 1876, the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii* ran an advertisement for the Bonanza Saloon's new menu items:

Ke kali nei ka hoa J. W. Crowell (Keoni Kolowela) o ke keena Bonanza, ma alanui Moi, o ke kipa ae o kona mau makamaka hanohano o ka Ahaolelo e hooluolu ia lakou iho me na kiaha hau i hoopaa ia a i awili ia hoi me na momona. Ilaila makou a hoomano ae la i ka "ono maele ka puu i ka wai o ka lehua," ua hele kela a "anu e, anu i ka wai o ka Ice."¹

Our friend J. W. Crowell of Bonanza Saloon, on King Street, is currently waiting for his prestigious associates of the Legislature to visit [and] they will be refreshed with glasses of ice that has been frozen and mixed with sweet flavorings. It is here that we all will be reminded of "the throat's delicious numbing feeling due to the water of the lehua blossom," which became "strangely cold, cold due to the water of the Ice."

At a time when few establishments in the growing city offered ice, the Bonanza used it to draw in patrons. Its rarity meant that the pleasures of the cold needed to be explained, and Crowell painted a vivid picture: beads of dew nestled within a lehua, the endemic flower of the 'ōhi'a tree that thrives at misty mountain elevations.² Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) readers would have immediately connected the flower's imagery to the fiery passion of the akua (deity) Pele. Crowell accordingly calls the sensation of drinking iced water "mā'ē'ele"—a numbness associated with shivers of pleasure.³ To have simply described the ice as cold—"anu"—would not have fully captured the concept of refreshment. Instead, employing language that overlapped sensory, intellectual, and emotional aspects of feeling—and all within the space of a brief news-

paper advertisement—Crowell leveraged Indigenous cultural and environmental references in order to sell Hawaiians on a foreign commodity.

These descriptive choices mark a vibrant and distinctly Hawaiian brand of empiricism, which was increasingly obscured by the pressures of Westernization that encroached on the growing port city in the second half of the nineteenth century. Where once the novelty of consuming cold in Honolulu was introduced with images of dewy lehua, this mode of refreshment would soon become matter-of-fact. Since Hawai‘i became enfolded into the American nation-state at the cusp of the twentieth century, images of golden beaches have replaced misty mountains, and American honeymooners sipping iced Mai Tais in hotel lobbies have edged out Crowell’s Hawaiian legislators in their urban saloons. In the span of about 150 years, the desire for frozen refreshment would become fully naturalized into Hawai‘i’s foodscape as a necessary and pleasurable form of recreation—particularly as the islands emerged as the paradigmatic example of a tropical “paradise.”

This, however, is not a story about how ice first arrived in Hawai‘i.

Kānaka Maoli have long described the cold through mo‘olelo (storied histories)—especially those referring to the summits of the island chain’s tallest mountains, where snowfall is common in the winter months. Its *commoditization*, however, is imported. Today, ice and refrigeration—that is, the technological production and regulation of cold temperatures—underpin sensory, aesthetic, and logistical experiences of everyday life for most people in Hawai‘i, just as they do for many people around the world. Middle-class Americans are quite literally “conditioned,” moving daily between climate-controlled homes, transportation, and offices; shopping for food (kept fresh from field to factory to market); and relaxing—perhaps with a cold drink in hand.

This book examines how such normative thermal relationships between bodies and environments have developed as a function of American imperial power, arguing that they continue to operate today as embodied expressions of ongoing settler colonialism. I explore this dynamic as it unfolds in the Hawaiian Islands, paying attention to how discourses about the cold encapsulate ideas about race, modernity, and the senses and in turn help rationalize Indigenous dispossession. Beginning in the mid-1800s, Americans hauled frozen pond water, then glacial ice, then ice machines to Hawaiian shores—all in an effort to reshape the islands in the service of white pleasure and profit. Marketed as “essential” for white occupants of the nineteenth-century Pacific, ice quickly

permeated the foodscape as technological advancements facilitated its mechanical production. Into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, infrastructures of the cold became so deeply embedded that they faded into the background of Hawai‘i daily life.⁴ I follow this trajectory to show how the related concepts of freshness and refreshment mark colonial relationships to the tropics.

Again, this is not a story about how ice first arrived in Hawai‘i; it is an analysis of how people make sense of temperature under conditions of colonization. By looking at how Hawaiians—and others living in or traveling to Hawai‘i—used ice to talk about difference and assimilation across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this book asks: What does the infrastructural unremarkability of ice today tell us about the normalization and tenacity of settler colonialism? What are the implicit understandings of environment, climate, and embodiment that underpin human needs and desires for the cold within the tropics? Finally, how can a thermal analysis of Indigenous dispossession help us to envision decolonial futures for Hawai‘i beyond the artificial cold?

PERFECTION AND DESIRE

For many people, Hawai‘i is synonymous with paradise.⁵ Almanacs describe its temperate climate as hospitable for a remarkably broad spectrum of plant and animal life—and this includes humans. The Hawaiian archipelago, which constitutes a portion of the Hawaiian-Emperor seamount chain, is situated roughly at the center of the Pacific Ocean, between 18 and 22 degrees north latitude and 154 and 160 degrees west longitude.⁶ Its geolocation means that Hawai‘i experiences little variation in daylength or median temperatures throughout the year, producing a relatively stable climate with a nearly continuous growing season.⁷ The edited volume *Prevailing Trade Winds: Climate and Weather in Hawai‘i* (1993) states in the opening paragraph of its introduction that, “for most people, the essence of Hawai‘i is its year-round pleasant climate, never too hot and never too cold, with moderate humidities and air-conditioning trade winds.”⁸ Hawai‘i, it suggests, is so ideal that it comes with its own cooling mechanism.

But perfect environments, historians explain, are not natural.⁹ They are produced. Paradisical imaginaries about Hawai‘i have been shaped over nearly 250 years since Western contact, when white people first began theorizing the tropics as a source of pleasure, exploitable labor,

and profit.¹⁰ These ideas can be found in the earliest written records of Hawai'i, when, for example, George Gilbert, a midshipman on Captain James Cook's third voyage (1776–80), reported, "The joy that we experienced on our arrival here [in Maui] is only to be conceived by ourselves or people under like circumstances; for after . . . the space of near ten months we have come into a delightful climate were [sic] we had almost everything we could wish for, in great profusion."¹¹ Hawai'i would go on to measure up to (or fail to meet) expectations of the islands as nothing less than a modern-day Eden. James Jackson Jarves, an early editor for the *Polynesian*, a popular Honolulu-based newspaper, wrote in 1843 that, "to foreigners, and particularly to children, the climate has proved of the most salubrious nature. It may be doubted if any more conducive to general health can be found."¹² By contrast, colonialists reasoned that Hawai'i's climate was so ideal that Native Hawaiians had evolved into a people without industry, and thus without desire for self-governance or civilization. As Manley Hopkins, Hawai'i's consul general in London, explained in 1862: "Indolence is another grand fault attributed to the Hawaiian race. It is very true that the delicious, equitable climate engenders in those constantly within its influence a lotus-eating habit, a love of the *dolce far niente*. Their absolute wants were few; and as the chiefs would have pounced down on any little surplus the people could have acquired by labour, they lost the powerful stimulus of a desire to accumulate."¹³ Consistent with theories of geographic determinism at the time, the mental gymnastics used by colonialists to justify their presence in the tropics—and, simultaneously, to racially disassociate themselves from Indigenous and enslaved people—butted up against colonial desires for land and, eventually, settlement.

During the nineteenth century, the tropics operated as a racial imaginary as much as a physical place, with the theory of acclimatization used to rationalize white supremacy.¹⁴ Claiming that climate produces race over time, the theory aligned with the racialization of plantation labor, for which nonwhite people were imagined to be better adapted than white people.¹⁵ Colonialists contorted their understandings of tropical habitability—for plantation overseers, researchers, and entrepreneurs—in order to accommodate ideas about the unsuitability of white people for warm places, as well as their entitlement to the resources and capital extracted from them.¹⁶ As David Livingstone explains, a combination of "medical science, imperial politics, evolutionary theory and moral principle . . . helped produce in the minds of the Victo-

rian public an imagined region—the tropics—which was, at once, a place of parasite and pathology, a space inviting colonial occupation and management, a laboratory for natural selection and racial struggle and a site of moral jeopardy and trial.”¹⁷ For Hawai‘i, the racial hierarchies of the plantation included poorly paid immigrant workers (largely from Asia) who were seen as better suited to hard agricultural labor than white settlers. As Jessica Wang notes, this racialized labor system would eventually bump up against Jeffersonian ideals of private property ownership in the early twentieth century, when white homesteaders sought to establish small farms in the islands as way of extending continental manifest destiny.¹⁸ Climatic perfection, as it is praised in Hawai‘i, has thus never served all bodies equally, but instead belies deep anxieties about race, belonging, and mobility across the tropics.

Envisioned as simultaneously exotic and familiar, Hawai‘i offers valuable insight into the ways that settler colonialism moves through the Pacific. Scholars like Patrick Wolfe, Lorenzo Veracini, and numerous others working across Native and Indigenous studies have theorized settler colonialism as a political formation of Indigenous dispossession that relies on land as its primary currency. In order for settlers to claim space as their own, territories are “emptied” of original occupants using various strategies, including projects of assimilation, forced removal, and enclosure, as well as rhetorical and aesthetic forms of elimination.¹⁹ In turn, settlers understand themselves as the sovereign “inheritors” of Indigenous lands and resources.

Within Oceania, settler colonialism manifested in the development of what Teresia Teaiwa describes as a “militouristic” economy, in which the military and tourism industries mutually reinforce Indigenous dispossession—with military networks supporting and facilitating tourism, and tourism, in turn, masking military force. While the impact of militourism on land use in Hawai‘i is profound—Hawai‘i’s economy today is completely overdetermined by these industries—Teaiwa uses this phenomenon as a heuristic for showing how “Polynesian” bodies become fixed in space and hierarchies of power. “Although military forces and tourism provide employment and social mobility for many Islanders,” she writes, “they also drain or pollute natural resources, endanger sacred sites, and introduce unhealthy ‘convenience’ goods.”²⁰ These dynamics not only organize Indigenous people according to settler colonial economic and spatial logics but also produce a complex aesthetics of Polynesian sexualization, exoticism, assimilability, and subservience.²¹

For Hawai‘i, climate is embedded deeply within its racial logics: the Edenic imaginaries of the late eighteenth century helped settler colonialists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries envision white belonging despite ongoing Indigenous presence. Kanaka Maoli scholar Maile Arvin describes how American claims to territory maneuvered around the shifting racializations of Polynesian people across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: at times too brown, at times almost white, but never close enough for self-governance.²² Imaginaries about Hawai‘i’s inherent whiteness amalgamated racial and environmental theories that were then brought to bear on territorial claims. Narratives produced in the 1880s by Abraham Fornander, and again in the 1950s by Thor Heyerdahl, imagined that the Pacific had originally been settled by a “white race,” simultaneously suggesting that Hawaiians were once white themselves (even if they would never again be so) and that Hawai‘i was a place primed for reclamation by white settlers as a kind of long-awaited homecoming, in part because of its ideal climate.²³

Questions that would eventually emerge about Hawai‘i’s political future in relation to the United States—as sovereign nation, plantation colony, or American state—frequently drew on the ideological interplay between climate and race that shaped much of Victorian-era colonialism in the tropics across Caribbean and Pacific spaces. As theories of land, labor, and territorial entitlement continued to shift over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, material objects offered concrete and performative avenues for resolving the racial, moral, and epidemiological ambiguities of the settler colonial tropics. Namely, the circulation of ice and iced refreshment in Hawai‘i helped code hierarchies of power, even as they remained unfixed across time.

THEMAL COLONIZATION AND SETTLER REFRESHMENT

As part of a larger set of strategies employed by settlers to calibrate thermal environments to the aims of territorial expansion, resource extraction, and settler habitation, the mediation of temperature helped to exert domination and control over Indigenous environments. Such forms of thermal colonialism, a phenomenon examined by scholars like Nicole Starosielski, Rafico Ruiz, and Jen Rose Smith, reflect the ways that environments are made friendly to settlement alongside ideas of temperate normativity, or the notion that geographies of extreme heat or cold are uncomfortable or uninhabitable for the civilized (and, in turn, that tem-

perate climates are exceptionally hospitable to Western settlement).²⁴ This has been the case since European settlers first worried about how their bodies would adapt to life in the “new world”; as Alfred Crosby presciently noted in his classic text on the ecological impact of North America’s colonization, “The crux of the problem was temperature.”²⁵ Anxieties over what could take root in tropical or ice geographies became, in turn, intimately related to capitalist expansion through sensorial concerns about bodily comforts and pleasures for white settlers and economic concerns about bodily labors for everyone else, particularly the enslaved.²⁶

Histories of ice and refrigeration constitute an important facet of thermal colonialism. The American ice trade—in which great blocks harvested from lakes in the Northeast circulated the globe—peaked between 1840 and 1870.²⁷ Packed in sawdust, an otherwise valueless by-product of the lumber industry, ice would serve both as a ballast and a revenue generator for ships sailing abroad to collect goods produced by slave labor, such as sugar, fruit, and cotton.²⁸ Forms of thermal settler colonialism generated by the American ice trade stretched out across the globe, making a profound impact on plantation spaces. As Marc W. Herold argues in his article on early ice exportation from the United States to Brazil, the ice that went to the tropics—places like Calcutta, Havana, New Orleans, Jamaica, and British Guiana—was a luxury product, used in cocktails, to chill wines, and for service at fine hotels (as opposed to being used as a food preservative, which was more common in the American Northeast).²⁹ Set against the contexts of plantation labor and colonial dispossession, iced refreshment within the tropics articulated sensory pleasure as a particularly embodied form of thermal colonization.

In tandem with the global success of the nineteenth-century ice trade, Americans developed an obsession with coldness. Settler colonial logics of inevitability, irreversibility, and belonging come to be naturalized through thermally mediated experiences of place. Historians of Western ice manufacture, air-conditioning, and refrigeration describe how such technologies responded to frontier desires for mastery over nature—forms of territorial domination expressed through the distributive reach of fresh meat and produce, regardless of season or distance.³⁰ “Ample perishable foods,” writes Jonathan Rees, “became a symbol of American plentitude [and] the wide availability of this bounty at first seemed like divine intervention.”³¹ In particular, American political investments in the cold engaged ideas of manifest destiny, casting political

expansion across Indigenous lands as a God-given right, suturing race, refrigeration, and refreshment as thermal expressions of territorial entitlement. Histories of air-conditioning, such as Marsha E. Ackermann's *Cool Comfort* (2002), furthermore argue that the use of temperature control to mitigate climatic discomfort resonated especially with American national identity, which treated air-conditioning as a cornerstone of civilization. In this way, technologies of artificial cold addressed not only the spatial but also—and perhaps more crucially—the biopolitical concerns of colonial settlement.³²

Americans came to see this as their legacy. Such technological approaches to “mastery over nature” manifested an everyday sense of comfort and freshness across a vast body politic despite—or perhaps in suppression of—spectacularly variable geographies and embodiments. It is no wonder, then, that Mark Rifkin begins and ends his influential essay “Settler Common Sense” discussing Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854), a book that theorizes sovereignty through one's ability to feel at home in nature—a sense of entitlement conditioned by white privilege.³³ Readers might recall that the backdrop of Thoreau's peaceful commune was the Tudor Ice Company's employees chiseling out ten thousand tons of pond water to send to “the sweltering inhabitants of Charleston and New Orleans, of Madras and Bombay and Calcutta.”³⁴ To that end, the feelings of comfort that so affirm Thoreau's de facto relationship to “nature” are triply premised on settler colonialism (the theft of Native lands in the Northeast), racial capitalism (plantation slavery in the American South), and empire (global trade with colonial India).³⁵ Rights to freshness, abundance, and energy resources became baked into what it means to be American. Put simply, these investments in the cold produced a normative condition of American life fundamentally premised on settler colonial desire.

Tracking the impact of ice and refrigeration on Hawai'i as a distinctly American endeavor offers insight into the mutability of colonial formations across time and the changing nature of Hawai'i's relationship to the United States. Dean Saranillio explains in *Unsustainable Empire* (2018) that by the early twentieth century, “Hawai'i's occupation by the United States, and the specific forms of settler colonialism there, was thus composed of a complex constellation of federal, territorial, military, Hawaiian, and settler interests.”³⁶ Because colonialism's forms are not static but instead adapt to the site-specific exigencies of territorial occu-

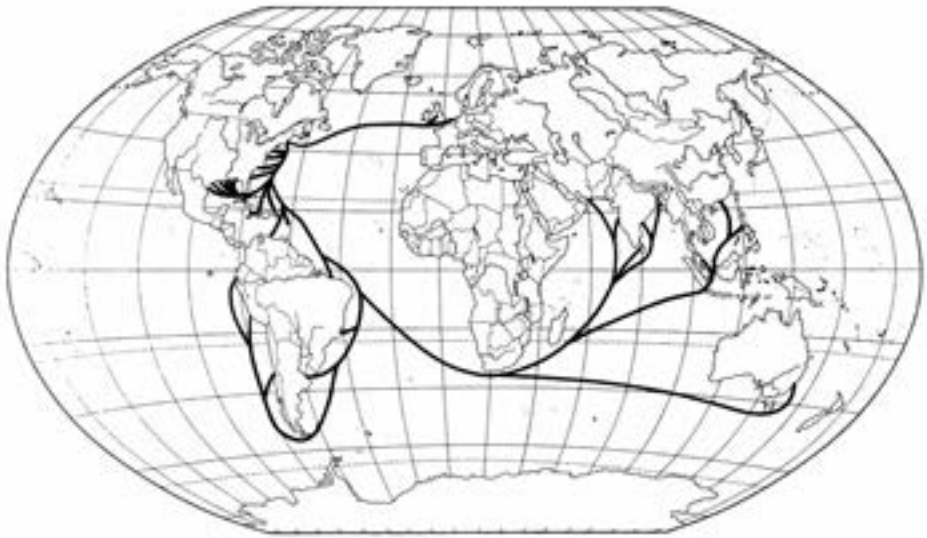


Figure I.1. Global ice trade routes in 1856, in which the Pacific is unaccounted for. From David G. Dickason, "The Nineteenth-Century Indo-American Ice Trade: A Hyperborean Epic," *Modern Asian Studies* 25, no. 1 (1991): 58.

pation, understanding Hawai'i and its relationship to the United States requires accounting for the ways that the islands have been constituted through multiple power structures: American empire in the Pacific (and thus in relation to Guam, Samoa, and the Northern Marianas); settler statehood (and thus in relation to Indigenous territory on the North American continent); and plantation labor (and thus in relation to the movement of people and capital across these lands and oceans in ways that subordinated, racialized, and dispossessed).³⁷

Tracing ice and the cold offers a sensorial through line that connects power to pleasure as it traverses the racial and economic terrains of these multiple configurations. Thermal technologies, like air-conditioning and refrigeration, affirm normative subjectivities as they are deployed across public and private spaces and, in turn, mark difference.³⁸ This phenomenon is akin to "settler common sense," as Rifkin calls it: the lived conditions of settler possibility that appear self-evident.³⁹ The supposed neutrality of temperature obscures not only personal perceptions of hot and cold but also the political power of thermal manipulation to differentiate raced, classed, and gendered bodies.⁴⁰ By paying attention to how the sociotechnical work of calibrating temperatures

produces idealized environments as well as ideal subjects for those environments, one can see how thermal comfort operates as a function of settler colonialism.

TEMPERATURE AS PREFERENCE AND POWER

This book's concern with cold temperature and embodied desire is premised on an understanding that while temperature is measurable, "cold" is subjective.⁴¹ Within the sciences, coldness might be recognized as anything within a range of degrees above and below the freezing point of water (0°C or 32°F).⁴² It also signifies a negative value: the movement of energy in the form of heat away from an object (when you touch an object that feels cold, what you are actually feeling is the transfer of energy from your body to that object).⁴³ But beyond these measures, coldness as we know it is just that: as *we* know it. In the English language, coldness is experienced relative to the human body; according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "cold" is an intuitive state.⁴⁴ But while the measure of cold feeling belongs to the individual, the values attributed to it—pleasure, discomfort—coalesce through social practices that are acutely influenced by things like race, class, and gender.⁴⁵

Language translates these cultural ideologies as forms of feeling. For example, even though the word *anu* most commonly describes low temperatures in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, a multiplicity of words elaborate on specific valences and interpretations of the cold—like 'āmu'emu'e, which refers to both bitter cold and bitter taste.⁴⁶ In both English and 'ōlelo Hawai'i, cold also metaphorically reflects emotional states: love, displeasure, affection, callousness, isolation, hipness.⁴⁷ For Hawaiians, the relationship between temperature and emotion is sometimes inverted, with coolness illustrating happiness or sexual passion, as opposed to Western ideas of coolness as disaffectedness and detachment.⁴⁸ Importantly, the tourism economy relies heavily on the language of warmth as one of the dominant descriptors of Hawai'i and its people, equating its climate with romanticized notions of Hawaiian hospitality—what is commonly referred to as the "spirit of aloha."⁴⁹ This thermal language articulates affective states of being that underpin the environmental logics of colonial settlement.

So, what transpires across states of affective and sensory coldness that helps us to understand power? You might wonder: Aren't cocktails and ice creams and shave ice inherently delicious?⁵⁰ Here it may

be useful to linger a moment on the biology of refreshment.⁵¹ Unlike immersive activities like swimming, consuming cold things doesn't substantially affect internal body temperature. Instead, studies show, the pleasure most associate with iced refreshments is the feeling of thirst satiety.⁵² But even that response is psychological: water, hot or cold, hydrates just the same. Take, for example, a set of scientific studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s designed to test the relationship between drink temperature and palatability. Researchers found that while multiple factors determined the volume of fluid intake (including environment, container type, and ease of access), temperature preference stood out.⁵³ Many studies tellingly showed that thermal preferences diverged sharply across national lines. For example, a test conducted in 1984 found that American subjects, when offered water at a range of temperatures, overwhelmingly selected the coldest available (5°C/41°F).⁵⁴ Yet another study, conducted in 1983, found that French subjects preferred water just cooler than room temperature (16°C/60.8°F)—even after warming their bodies up with vigorous exercise designed to make them thirsty.⁵⁵ Still more studies highlighted the important role of things like expectation in shaping temperature preference: in 1988, American test subjects consumed various “unfamiliar juices” at both cold (read: appropriate) and warm (inappropriate) temperatures. Subjects then rated the palatability of each juice, consistently ranking cold juices higher than those served warm. Their rankings shifted, however, when they were informed that some juices were *meant* to be consumed warm.⁵⁶ Taken together, these studies not only indicate that thermal expectations are culturally determined; they reflect a contemporary American notion that cold consumption is both universally necessary and desired.⁵⁷

Histories of sugar and sweetness offer a useful correlation for understanding settler colonial desires for ice and coldness. Flavor scientists, for example, who have documented the hedonics of sweetness argue that humans are evolutionarily “hardwired” to like sugars.⁵⁸ Even so, this supposed human propensity for sweetness cannot sufficiently account for the differential impacts that sugar has had on communities of color, especially Black descendants of the enslaved.⁵⁹ Sidney Mintz's groundbreaking *Sweetness and Power* (1985) reveals how Western desires for sweetness are in fact products of colonial plantation economies and industrial labor formations.⁶⁰ Following Mintz, this book similarly troubles the ahistorical way that contemporary Americans presume that hedonics of cold are solely driven by universal biological desire, rather than

being conditioned by colonialism. Understanding what this means for a study of settler colonialism, indigeneity, and race-making in Hawai‘i requires, then, looking beyond the biology and physics of taste, and toward how the sensorium develops as a function of global power.⁶¹

SENTIMENTALITY IN THE SETTLER COLONIAL CITY

In order to detail the broad cultural and political meanings of the cold as a form of thermal settler colonialism within the imperial Pacific, the heart of this book focuses on urban Honolulu as a rapidly evolving technological and cosmopolitan center of Hawai‘i in which ice had an early and long-standing impact.⁶² Honolulu’s transformation into a bustling metropolis began in the early 1800s with the arrival of missionaries and whalers who took advantage of its generous harbor, which could accommodate the deep draft vessels used for whaling. It quickly grew from a small village of about a dozen households in 1803 to ten thousand or so people (including several hundred foreigners) by 1850, when it became designated as Hawai‘i’s capital city.⁶³ Since the kingdom era, it was usually the first point of contact for the people, goods, and ideas that flowed into Hawai‘i, and so the city’s residents had no choice but to accommodate that diversity, for better or worse. The intimacies that the city forced between Native Hawaiians and newcomers also became contested spaces of civility, morality, and national identity.⁶⁴ Honolulu’s development as one of the Pacific’s largest cities was thereby shaped by the quotidian as much as it was forged in geopolitical fires.⁶⁵

Often mistaking Hawaiian cosmopolitanism as evidence of its colonization, Westerners homed in on Honolulu as an attractive location for settlement. By the time the United States annexed Hawai‘i in 1898, Honolulu had around thirty thousand residents. They lived modern, cosmopolitan lives: they traveled by rail car, called each other on the telephone, patronized stores advertising in five different languages, and kept their food fresh in iceboxes.⁶⁶ It was, in fact, these same cultural and technological amenities that compelled American settlers to draw equivalencies between Hawai‘i and the continental United States.⁶⁷ In travel guides like *Appleton’s Illustrated Hand-Book of American Winter Resorts* from 1895, for example, readers were informed that “the aspect of [Honolulu] is surprisingly like that of a thriving New England town, and Americans in particular soon feel quite at home.”⁶⁸ And so, in the nineteenth century, biologically deterministic ideas about race, climate, and

human geography gave way to settler embodiments governed in part by what Kyla Schuller calls a “plasticity of feeling” that traversed the sensory and the sentimental.⁶⁹ This logic allowed settlers to imagine themselves as racially distinct from Native Hawaiians, and yet paradoxically at home in Hawai‘i, thus producing populations of “civilized” settlers, “uncivilized” Natives, and opportunities—however limited—to traverse those categories.⁷⁰

The technological and cosmopolitan development of Honolulu occurred within the context of Hawai‘i’s political economy more broadly. Between 1850 and the present, Hawai‘i’s primary economic drivers have shifted from whaling to sugar to the military and tourism, and its population has expanded and diversified accordingly.⁷¹ Immigrant laborers—Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and Okinawans—who arrived in the 1800s to work the sugar and pineapple plantations had, by the second quarter of the twentieth century, begun to find economic footholds that allowed them to start small businesses and expand family networks, often intermarrying and making kin with Hawaiian families. By the 1930s and 1940s, “local” identity came to reflect Hawai‘i’s multiethnic working class and constituted a strong counterpoint to the haole (white foreigner) domination of the plantation era. Once Hawai‘i transitioned from a US territory to a state in 1959, multiculturalism emerged as one of the most celebrated features of the islands, proffering American Dream ideologies and structuring Indigenous erasure. In this way, American settler colonial sentimentalities of the nineteenth century matured into state-generated “liberal settler multiculturalism” that insisted on Hawai‘i’s particular suitability for all seeking acceptance and belonging.⁷²

By the time of statehood, Hawai‘i would be envisioned variously as a crossroads, a melting pot, and a haven for nonwhite Americans (though this sentiment has a longer genealogy).⁷³ As members of a multiethnic society celebrated for its tolerant approach to newcomers, Native Hawaiians have been simultaneously centered and sidelined in thermal narratives about Hawai‘i’s welcoming warmth. A 1993 article published in a political and social science journal, for example, argued that Hawai‘i’s racial tolerance stemmed from “the value of *aloha kanaka*, the love of one’s fellow human beings [which] often translated into public policy.”⁷⁴ Such attitudes are pervasive across academic work (particularly throughout the 1980s and 1990s), tourism literature, and fiction, which erroneously naturalize practices of welcoming as extensions of Kanaka Maoli

core values.⁷⁵ In turn, the downplaying of local resistance—by both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiian allies—in favor of multiethnic belonging *as a form* of American nationalism importantly reveals how tightly the racial paradigms of the late twentieth century were bound up in claims over land and power.⁷⁶

Today Honolulu is home to nearly 40 percent of O‘ahu’s total population, though suburban sprawl blurs the boundaries between the city and the rest of the island (O‘ahu is designated as the City and County of Honolulu).⁷⁷ Honolulu—the city—stretches between the ahupua‘a of Moanalua to Waikiki (roughly from Daniel K. Inouye International Airport to Makapu‘u Point at the easternmost tip of the island).⁷⁸ It contains many of the state’s major financial, educational, and governmental institutions, as well as Waikiki, the crown jewel of Hawai‘i’s tourism industry.⁷⁹ Much of the state’s ongoing appeal for visitors, on which its economy fiercely relies, is Hawai‘i’s unique culture and natural beauty—even though Native Hawaiians themselves face significant economic, political, and social challenges, the effects of which are reflected in disproportionately high rates of impoverishment, incarceration, and out-migration to more affordable cities in the continental United States.⁸⁰ The example of Hawai‘i thus follows the contours of a broader phenomenon articulated by Elizabeth Povinelli, Audra Simpson, and others in which settler domination operates through a politics of recognition that aims to hold dispossessive structures in place.⁸¹ To that end, corporeal, spiritual, and emotional expressions of indigeneity are celebrated as “traditional culture” only when they appear in politically neutral ways that affirm settler colonial dominance—often coded as multicultural coexistence.

Notions that anyone would find themselves naturally at home in Hawai‘i underpin many post-contact histories of the islands, from Captain Cook’s arrival to Hawaiian statehood. Only in recent decades have the tireless organizing and resistance of Kānaka Maoli been written back into mainstream accounts of contemporary Hawaiian history—from the signing of the Ku‘ē petitions in protest of US annexation, to anti-statehood solidarity movements across the midcentury, to the Black Lives Matter movement’s impact on addressing antiblackness within state multiculturalist and Hawaiian sovereignty discourse.⁸² Dynamics of ongoing resistance despite settler refrains about colonial inevitability bring to mind Patrick Wolfe’s important reminder that, in order “to

get in the way of settler colonization, all the native has to do is stay at home.”⁸³ This is, however, made all the more challenging when settlers believe they have arrived “home” in that very place.

HOME IS WHERE THE FRIDGE IS

Food systems are networks of intimacy. Across two centuries of Western presence in Hawai‘i, freezing and refrigeration technology facilitated its integration into a complex global food system that functions, in large part, through the manipulation of temperature in order to keep foods fresh over vast distances.⁸⁴ Jonathan Rees refers to the United States as a “refrigeration nation,” citing its outsize contributions to the development of freezing and refrigeration technology.⁸⁵ Early forays into American ice exportation eventually became a cold chain that made perishables commonly available in nearly every corner of the first world. Susanne Freidberg argues that refrigeration not only lengthened the global supply chain but also “fundamentally challenged the everyday power relations and knowledge that governed commerce in perishable food.”⁸⁶ The development of the cold chain revolutionized how the world eats, from large-scale food systems to the intimacies of domestic life.⁸⁷

Infrastructures of the cold determine the very conditions of life in the Hawaiian islands—as they do elsewhere—linking the global cold chain to the mundane hum of kitchen refrigerators.⁸⁸ Despite its history of agricultural abundance, nearly everything that Hawai‘i residents eat is imported; real estate development has encroached on arable farmland to such an extent that a mere 11.6 percent of food is locally grown.⁸⁹ Natural disasters serve as painful reminders of the connection between thermal technologies and Hawai‘i’s food security: were the refrigerated container ships to stop arriving, Hawai‘i would run out of fresh produce in ten days.⁹⁰

Hawai‘i’s dependence on imported food, along with the additional built-in cost for perishables, makes its groceries the most expensive in the United States.⁹¹ Analysts explain that it is not shipping per se that sets the high prices of Hawai‘i’s produce, meats, and dairy (as shipping cargo is relatively cheap); rather, its cost is determined by the energy required to keep food fresh in Hawai‘i’s warm climate, and the price of electricity is significantly higher than anywhere else in the nation.⁹² A sense of precarity thereby pervades how Hawai‘i residents understand

their food system both in terms of supply (worrying that they will run out of food if the ships don't arrive) and in terms of cost (worrying about affordability).

While arguments about settler colonial intimacies may seem at first incidental to a history of ice and cold in Hawai'i, refrigerators importantly mark the conceptual and bureaucratic boundaries of domesticity within the settler state.⁹³ The social and fiscal pressures of Hawai'i's cold chain terminate in the refrigerators and freezers of homes, linking settler colonial regimes of private property and imposed expressions of normative family life.⁹⁴ This system has, over time, effectively altered the material shape of domestic space. In the late 1970s, the cost of living in Hawai'i soared as poststatehood in-migration from the continental US grew, resulting in a dire housing shortage.⁹⁵ By 1981, the State of Hawai'i began permitting the construction of 'Ohana Units—residential home additions designed to support the expansion of multigenerational households. While the ability to more comfortably house several generations under the same roof was said to appeal to Asian and Hawaiian cultural sensibilities, this change in residential zoning laws operated more as an economic pressure valve for local families. The permitting constraints for the unit determined the familial limits of their habitation: the home addition had to share a roof and a kitchen—including a full-size refrigerator—with the main house, and the tenancy would be restricted to people legally recognized as family through marriage or blood.⁹⁶

Forty years later, the multigenerational single-family home no longer suffices. The cost of living in Hawai'i is currently the highest in the nation, and homeowners must wring out additional incomes by renting their extra space to nonfamilial tenants.⁹⁷ In 2015, Honolulu mayor Kirk Caldwell signed an accessory dwelling unit ordinance that permitted the construction of detached units with their own kitchens, including full-size refrigerators.⁹⁸ Through these legal frameworks, appliances not only come to define what counts as a kitchen but also delimit the family structure according to settler conventions of relatedness. This, in turn, shapes the forms of care made possible (or not) through practices of cooking and feeding.

Where refrigerators once evoked Americanness as the cold chain developed in the twentieth century, those nationalistic sensibilities have since dropped away in accordance with their ubiquity. Refrigerators have, in fact, become exceptional in their universal normativity; they

are what those trained in econometrics call a “normal good,” an item that marks economic wealth thresholds within a household (i.e., as income rises, so too does the likelihood that a household will own or purchase that item). A prizewinning research paper from 2013 argued that refrigerators are, in fact, *the* normal good by which global health inequality can be measured across time and space precisely because of their universality.⁹⁹ In describing this phenomenon, Emily Yates-Doerr points out that equating progress and wealth is itself a form of harm, writing that “refrigerators, taken by the global health community as evidence that people have been successfully inserted into the cold chains of global connection, are evidence in other communities of the very failure of these chains.”¹⁰⁰ Where refrigerators appear, then, they do not necessarily measure a community’s capacity for health but, instead, express capitalism’s reach. By contrast, the absence of refrigerators signals spaces of habitation that exceed or sit beyond the capitalist economy’s cold chain infrastructures.

Hawai‘i is home to one of the largest houseless populations in the United States—a population in which Kanaka Maoli are demographically overrepresented.¹⁰¹ Hawai‘i’s houseless, who live, according to news reports, “in public spaces not meant for human habitation,” also affront Western private property regimes by reasserting claims to stolen land.¹⁰² Bianca Isaki, describing tensions between the houseless and local fishing communities in Ka‘ena Point on O‘ahu, argues that settler colonial homemaking eschews Indigenous forms of kinship and relationality in favor of Indigenous dispossession.¹⁰³ Here, “legal” forms of residency and belonging become demarcated and legitimized through things like refrigerators, as well as access to running water, ice for fishing coolers, and electrical grids for powering appliances. As such, domestic reproduction and the “domestication” of foreign territories become public/private forms of the same political project of which ice and refrigeration sit at the heart.

COOLING HAWAI‘I

Organized into five chapters, *Cooling the Tropics* attends to the cold’s broad social meaning in Hawai‘i. I draw from diverse source materials in both English and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i that describe ideas about, and experiences of, the cold as it was recorded in business records, treaties, cookbooks, menus, mo‘olelo, advertisements, travelogues, newspaper editorials, pe-

riodicals, and photographs. While this history is mapped out in roughly chronological order, the first and last chapters provide a contemporary frame for the historical chapters that make up the heart of the project. I use these chapters to highlight the cold's ongoing significance both as a form of dispossession and as a site of decolonial practice.

Chapter 1, "A Prehistory of the Artificial Cold in Hawai'i," highlights long-standing Kanaka Maoli relationships with the cold by looking to those places in the islands where water freezes naturally. Focusing on Maunakea's summit, it contextualizes recent struggles against the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) through epistemological frameworks that have sought to exclude Native Hawaiians. Slated to become the most powerful telescope in the world, the stadium-sized facility threatens to desecrate one of the most sacred sites for Kanaka Maoli. Significant within discourses in favor of summit development is the persistent belief that Maunakea is, and has always been, devoid of Native people and therefore is a kind of *terra nullius*, unmonitored and available for development. In particular, I locate the genealogy of logics used in favor of the TMT within nineteenth-century literatures that imagined the alpine climate of the summit as unsuitable for Kanaka 'Ōiwi. This chapter analyzes these logics across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as they variously seek to produce Maunakea as not-for-Hawaiians, as not-Hawai'i, and as not-Earth—all in the service of scientific "progress." By drawing connections from historical ideas of race and temperature in the Pacific to the settler frontier logics of space exploration, this chapter identifies the violence of settler colonialism that alienates Kanaka 'Ōiwi from their homelands and sets up the underlying assumptions about Hawaiian relationships with the cold that shape the consumption practices that emerged with the arrival of comestible ice in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2, "Vice, Virtue, and Frozen Necessities in the Sovereign City," looks at the brief presence of foreign ice in Hawai'i as a failed but significant chapter in the history of the American global ice trade. It begins in 1850, when a shipment of ice arrived in Honolulu from Boston, Massachusetts, after journeying for several months down the east coast of the Americas and across the Pacific Ocean. It would, like the handful of other ice shipments that arrived over the coming decade, be sold to Hawai'i consumers who craved ice-cold refreshments in the warm, tropical port city. Imported ice, used for chilling fine wines and sweet des-

serts, was sold in the hotels and saloons where American sugar planters, European tourists, and Hawaiian elites mingled—and from which makaʻāinana (the general populace) were excluded. The legal, cultural, and economic structures that shaped Hawaiʻi governance during this time underpin desires for cold refreshment, provoking public discourse about temperature and climate in the context of American settlement and laying the groundwork for the infrastructural projects that followed the eventual failure of the ice trade to Hawaiʻi in 1860.

Chapter 3, “Making Ice Local: Technology, Infrastructure, and Cold Power in the Kalākaua Era,” examines intersections between technology and taste through the establishment of ice-making machines and factories around Honolulu’s urban periphery during the 1870s and 1880s. Placed against the backdrop of an increasingly formalized political relationship with the United States, it focuses on affective relationships with infrastructural development: electricity, steam engines, sewer systems, and roadways all contributed to Hawaiʻi’s agricultural economy while at the same time supporting Honolulu’s growing global modernity. The business of making artificial ice emerged as part of this broader technological landscape, offering greater availability and access to the fast-melting delicacy. The Hawaiian monarchy embraced the serving of ices and ice creams at government events—gustatory displays of state power that engaged with the complicated press of Western desires. As ice grew in popularity throughout the city, discourses turned toward the makaʻāinana body to consider how Hawaiians responded to consuming the very cold. Such discourses produced hierarchies of taste premised on deeply racialized concepts of civility as a measure of climatological comfort.

Chapter 4, “Cold and Sweet: The Taste of Territorial Occupation,” examines ice in the context of the territorial foodscape between 1898 and 1915. One of the consequences of US annexation was the transfer of American laws onto Hawaiian society, including the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act against the adulteration of edible products. A few years later, in the wake of a 1911 cholera outbreak in Honolulu, when poi came under legal scrutiny as a food dangerous to public health, the newly appointed food commissioner decided instead to focus on a campaign to increase the overall butterfat content of the city’s ice cream. The food commissioner’s efforts to regulate ice cream, which also fell under the umbrella of pure food, served to privilege Western tastes over Indigenous pub-

lic health. These legal and gustatory legacies continue to reverberate in more current projects around the revitalization of Native Hawaiian staple foods—particularly within the legalize pa'i 'ai movement of 2011.

Finally, chapter 5, “Local Color, Rainbow Aesthetics, and the Racial Politics of Hawaiian Shave Ice,” places the previous chapters into conversation with more contemporary discourses of multiculturalism, postracialism, and American state power by examining visual representations of Hawaii residents who perform cool refreshment as an expression of local identity. The emergence of mixed-race identity becomes, in this case, aestheticized through the image of the shave ice cone precisely because of the food’s ability to be an edible rainbow. Contrasting media representations of shave ice in a poststatehood context, first in the decades immediately following statehood in 1959 and then in the present day, I explore not only how shave ice has come to act as a metonymy for Hawaiian multiculturalism but also how it becomes used to accessorize American nationalism and Indigenous dispossession in Hawai‘i as an affective and an ideological project.

Across these five chapters, which examine the evolving social meaning of the cold in Hawai‘i, I seek to understand the ways that thermal relationships between race and environment have been shaped by—and continue to be shaped by—Hawai‘i’s food system. Within it, the cold operates variously as infrastructure, taste, and a sensorial logic of power, producing normative forms of comfort and refreshment that help to organize laboring and leisured bodies in space. Feeling cold in Hawai‘i, then, articulates a thermal politics of belonging rooted in empire and settler colonialism, suturing together race-making and taste-making as complementary projects that can—and must—be attended to in struggles for food sovereignty and political self-determination in Hawai‘i and beyond.

NOTE ON 'ŌLELO HAWAI'I USAGE

1. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev. and enl. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). For an extended discussion of the politics of translation within Hawaiian historiography, see Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

2. I am paraphrasing Marie Alohani Brown here. For an excellent discussion of the genealogy of these terms, their common usage, and the politics of distinct terms, see Marie Alohani Brown, "He 'Ōlelo Wehehe: An Explanation for Readers," in *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa 'Ūi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), ix–xiii.

INTRODUCTION

1. Bonanza Saloon, advertisement, *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, May 4, 1876, 2.

2. In referring to "the cold," I aim to distinguish it from temperature as a generalized thing. Instead, I see cold as a specific material articulation of temperature in relation to settler colonization.

3. According to Pukui and Elbert, the kind of numbness indicated by *mā'ē'ele* could describe a number of feelings, including being deeply moved by love, being grief-stricken, and numbness during pregnancy. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 218.

4. This point about how certain objects and cultural practices are invisibilized as they are assimilated into daily life is inspired by Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000); and Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

5. Browse books on Hawai'i and you will find a staggering number of titles that include the word *paradise* both sincerely and ironically.

6. The main islands of Hawai'i are located about twenty-five hundred miles from Japan and thirty-two hundred miles from the California coast.

7. At the same time, because of the archipelago's mountainous volcanic topography, it features ten of the earth's fourteen climatic zones (including a periglacial climate at the summit of Maunakea, Hawai'i's highest peak at 13,803 feet).

Derek Paiva, "Hawaii Has 10 of the World's 14 Climate Zones: An Explorer's Guide to Each of Them," *Hawai'i Magazine*, November 10, 2015.

8. Marie Sanderson, ed., *Prevailing Trade Winds: Climate and Weather in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 1.

9. As William Cronon writes in his essay on the cultural production of "wilderness": "As we gaze into the mirror it holds up for us, we too easily imagine that what we behold is Nature when in fact we see the reflection of our own unexamined longings and desires." William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1995), 7. Also see Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History: Four Theses," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 2 (2009): 197–222; Eric T. Jennings, *Curing the Colonizers: Hydrotherapy, Climatology, and French Colonial Spas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Marsha E. Ackermann, *Cool Comfort: America's Romance with Air-Conditioning* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2010).

10. For more on Edenic ideas about the tropics and colonialism, see Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

11. George Gilbert, *The Death of Captain James Cook* (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1926), 5.

12. James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands: Embracing Their Antiquities, Mythology, Legends, Discovery by Europeans in the Sixteenth Century, Re-discovery by Cook, with Their Civil, Religious, and Political History* (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843), 17.

13. Manley Hopkins, *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of Its Island-Kingdom* (London: Longman, 1862), 351.

14. Warwick Anderson, "Climates of Opinion: Acclimatization in Nineteenth-Century France and England," *Victorian Studies* 35, no. 2 (1992): 135–57; Richard Eves, "Going Troppo: Images of White Savagery, Degeneration, and Race in Turn-of-the-Century Colonial Fictions of the Pacific," *History and Anthropology* 11, nos. 2–3 (1999): 351–85.

15. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1984): 213–40.

16. Ikuko Asaka, *Tropical Freedom: Climate, Settler Colonialism, and Black Exclusion in the Age of Emancipation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

17. David N. Livingstone, "Tropical Climate and Moral Hygiene: The Anatomy of a Victorian Debate," *British Journal for the History of Science* 32, no. 1 (1999): 109. Also see Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

18. Jessica Wang, "Agricultural Expertise, Race, and Economic Development: Small Producer Ideology and Settler Colonialism in the Territory of Hawai'i, 1900–1917," *History and Technology* 36, nos. 3–4 (2020): 316–17.

19. Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409; Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler*

Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). There are too many to list here, but some other texts I rely on to understand the relationship between land and settler colonialism include Mishuana R. Goeman, “Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment,” in *Native Studies Keywords*, ed. Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle H. Raheja (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 71–89; Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015); and Robert Nichols, “Theft Is Property! The Recursive Logic of Dispossession,” *Political Theory* 46, no. 1 (2017): 3–28. My point about aesthetics refers to literatures produced about Hawai‘i for the tourism industry, which retain images of Native Hawaiian peoples as a backdrop or scaffold for white pleasure. Take, for example, how a Hawai‘i Tourism Bureau advertising campaign from 1972 describes the island of Kaua‘i as “a garden of Eden [that] fed, clothed, and sheltered the children of Hawai‘i.” Accompanied by a photograph of a lush, unpopulated forest, narratives of Hawaiian primitivism and anachronism complement visions of an unspoiled nature awaiting discovery by the Western tourist. J. D. Goss, “Placing the Market and Marketing Place: Tourist Advertising of the Hawaiian Islands, 1972–92,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11, no. 6 (1993): 674.

20. Teresia Teaiwa, “Reading Paul Gauguin’s *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau‘ofa’s *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the ‘Polynesian’ Body,” in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Here-niko and Rob Wilson (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 249–63.

21. Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, “Re-memembering Panalā‘au: Masculinities, Nation, and Empire in Hawai‘i and the Pacific,” *Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1 (2008): 27–53; Margaret Jolly, “Contested Paradise: Dispossession and Repossession in Hawai‘i,” *Contemporary Pacific* 30, no. 2 (2018): 355–77.

22. Maile Renee Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai‘i and Oceania* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019).

23. Maile Renee Arvin, “Pacifically Possessed: Scientific Production and Native Hawaiian Critique of the ‘Almost White’ Polynesian Race” (PhD diss., UC San Diego, 2013); Graham E. L. Holton, “Heyerdahl’s Kon Tiki Theory and the Denial of the Indigenous Past,” *Anthropological Forum* 14, no. 2 (2004): 163–81; Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians*, 56.

24. Jen Rose Smith develops the term *temperate normativity* in “Exceeding Beringia’: Upending Universal Human Events and Wayward Transits in Arctic Spaces,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 39, no. 1 (2021): 158–75. Also see Rafico Ruiz, *Slow Disturbance: Infrastructural Mediation on the Settler Colonial Resource Frontier* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021).

25. Crosby specifically makes this statement to explain how early colonialists brought many crops with them in order to grow food in the Americas, believing that eating Indigenous foods might affect their “civility.” Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972), 70.

26. Asaka, *Tropical Freedom*.
27. The first shipment of ice by “Ice King” Frederic Tudor left Charleston to St. Pierre in French Martinique in 1805. Marc Herold, “Ice in the Tropics: The Export of ‘Crystal Blocks of Yankee Coldness’ to India and Brazil,” *Revista Espacio Academico*, March 1, 2012.
28. Herold, “Ice in the Tropics.”
29. See David G. Dickason, “The Nineteenth-Century Indo-American Ice Trade: An Hyperborean Epic,” *Modern Asian Studies* 25, no. 1 (1991): 53–89.
30. Ackermann, *Cool Comfort*; William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991); Susanne Freidberg, *Fresh: A Perishable History* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009); Amy Bentley, “Islands of Serenity: Gender, Race, and Ordered Meals during World War II,” *Food and Foodways* 6, no. 2 (1996): 131–56.
31. Jonathan Rees, *Refrigeration Nation: A History of Ice, Appliances, and Enterprise in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 186–87.
32. Ackermann, *Cool Comfort*. Scott Lauria Morgensen argues that biopolitics, in fact, constitutes a feature of settler colonialism, writing that “Western law incorporates Indigenous peoples while simultaneously pursuing their elimination. . . . These historical processes ultimately enact biopower as a persistent activity of settler states that were never decolonised and of the global regimes that extend and naturalise their power.” Scott Lauria Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 53–54.
33. Mark Rifkin, “Settler Common Sense,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, nos. 3–4 (2013): 322–40.
34. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1854), 223.
35. Manu Vimalassery [Karuka], Juliana Hu Pegues, and Alyosha Goldstein, “Introduction: On Colonial Unknowing,” *Theory and Event* 19, no. 4 (2016): n.p.
36. Dean Itsuji Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai‘i Statehood* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 74.
37. While settler colonialism is one of the primary theoretical frameworks used in this book, I see it as one that overlaps with racial capitalism and empire, as Karuka, Hu Pegues, and Goldstein describe in “Introduction: On Colonial Unknowing.”
38. Nicole Starosielski, *Media Hot and Cold* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021); Catherine Fennell, *Last Project Standing: Civics and Sympathy in Post-welfare Chicago* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015); Michelle Murphy, *Sick Building Syndrome: Environmental Politics, Technoscience, and Women Workers* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
39. Rifkin, “Settler Common Sense.”
40. Nicole Starosielski calls these forms of settler colonial embodiments “thermocultures,” or “the modes by which temperature is managed and organized in embodied and culturally specific ways.” Nicole Starosielski, “Thermocultures of

Geological Media,” *Cultural Politics* 12, no. 3 (2016): 306; also see Starosielski, *Media Hot and Cold*, 1–2.

41. Peter Atkins, “Temperature,” in *Chemistry: Foundations and Applications*, ed. J. J. Lagowski (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 4:206–9.

42. This range was established around 1742. “Celsius Temperature Scale,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, accessed July 23, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/technology/Celsius-temperature-scale>. For a longer discussion of the history of temperature measurement, see Gino Segre, *A Matter of Degrees: What Temperature Reveals about the Past and Future of Our Species* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

43. “Cold, n.,” OED Online, June 2015, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/36100>.

44. The first definition under “cold, adj.” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is “The proper adjective expressing a well-known quality of the air or of other substances exciting one of the primary physical sensations, due to the abstraction of heat from the surface of the body: of a temperature sensibly lower than that of the living human body.” “Cold, adj.,” OED Online, September 2015, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/36101>.

45. Catherine Fennell, “‘Project Heat’ and Sensory Politics in Redeveloping Chicago Public Housing,” *Ethnography* 12, no. 1 (2011): 40–64.

46. *Anu* and *‘āmu‘ēmu‘ē* in Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 26, 23.

47. The first definition of “cool” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is “of or at a relatively low temperature; moderately cold, esp. agreeable or refreshingly so (in contrast with heat and cold).” “Cool, adj., adv., and int.,” OED Online, June 2015, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/40978>.

48. “Cool,” in Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 420. This connection between coolness and sexual passion is reflected in an analysis that Kimo Alama Keaulana and Scott Whitney give of the 1930s song “Niu Haohao” (“Young Coconut”) about a cold alcoholic drink that, translated, goes: “The young coconut spoonmeat, / So cool, so cool, / Cool for the throat to savor, / Gently restraining the voicebox, / Sliding, slipping, sliding / Is the water from the continent.” As they remind readers, “One should remember that Hawaiians, living in the tropics, always pictured hospitality and pleasure as cool, whereas persons from temperate zone cultures tend to describe the same experiences as warm.” There are many similarities that can be drawn here between this song and the advertisement for Bonanza Saloon with which this section opens. Kimo Alama Keaulana and Scott Whitney, “Ka wai kau mai o Maleka ‘Water from America’: The Intoxication of the Hawaiian People,” *Contemporary Drug Problems* 17 (1990): 183.

49. This is a complex point that could take up a book-length discussion on its own, though it is beyond the focus of this project. A recent debate over the colonial expectations of the performance of aloha stemmed from an online video that went viral in 2014 and can be accessed on YouTube at <https://youtu.be/zGoYEI8aIm8>. The video, which shows an altercation between a Native Hawaiian man and a group of white settlers at Kalama Beach, Maui Island, provoked heated discussion about Hawaiian identity, expressions of aloha, and histories

of displacement. For an illuminating analysis, refer to Noelani Arista and Judy Kertész, “Aloha Denied,” *Hawai‘i Independent*, February 25, 2014, <http://hawaiiindependent.net/story/aloha-denied>. See also Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Keiko Ohnuma, “‘Aloha Spirit’ and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging,” *Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 2 (2008): 365–94; and Stephanie Nohelani Teves, “We’re All Hawaiians Now: Kanaka Maoli Performance and the Politics of Aloha” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012).

50. An examination of taste as a form of cultural distinction is useful here as an aside. To think about the politics of taste, I implicitly draw on works by Pierre Bourdieu, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Mary Douglas—foundational theoreticians for the field of food studies—which establish taste as a socially conditioned and aesthetic practice used to articulate difference. Cuisines, they argue, operate as classificatory schemas that sort the moral from the immoral, the high class from the low, and the civilized from the savage. Such theories, however, treat flavor as a relatively neutral category separate from the more complex elaborations of taste. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Claude Lévi-Strauss, “The Culinary Triangle,” *Parisian Review* 33, no. 4 (1966): 586–95; Mary Douglas, *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities* (London: Routledge, 2003). For an in-depth discussion of works that engage the sensory dimensions of food culture, see David E. Sutton, “Food and the Senses,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 209–33.

51. The colonial forms of refreshment I identify here are distinct from environmentally ready modes of refreshment that have long been part of traditional Hawaiian life, such as swimming or surfing in the ocean, or bathing in valley streams. These continue to be part of Hawai‘i’s pleasures for Kānaka, other locals, and tourists alike; they certainly exist alongside cocktails, ice creams, and shave ice as part of a broad field of thermal engagements with the islands specifically, and the tropics more generally. What distinguish them are the spatial relationships they articulate, such as immersion versus consumption. Distinct from ecological relationships grounded in Hawaiian concepts of aloha ‘āina—akin to a love of land—freezing and refrigeration technologies (and the pleasures they offer) are premised on ideas of regulation and control. This point about aloha ‘āina as both a relational and spatial practice comes from Candace Fujikane, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai‘i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021), 18.

52. R. Eccles, L. Du-Plessis, Y. Dommels, and J. E. Wilkinson, “Cold Pleasure: Why We Like Ice Drinks, Ice-Lollies, and Ice Creams,” *Appetite* 71 (2013): 358.

53. Conducted in order to support increased US military presence in the Middle East, these tests sought to understand why soldiers stationed in the desert tended to dehydrate, failing to drink enough water if it was not served cold. D. Engell and E. Hirsch, “Environmental and Sensory Modulation of Fluid Intake on Humans,” in *Thirst*, ed. D. J. Ramsay and D. Booth (London: Springer-Verlag, 1991), 383.

54. B. L. Sandick, D. B. Engell, and O. Maller, "Perception of Drinking Water Temperature and Effects for Humans after Exercise," *Physiology and Behavior* 32, no. 5 (1984): 851–55.

55. D. Boulze, P. Montastruc, and M. Cabanac, "Water Intake, Pleasure, and Water Temperature in Humans," *Physiology and Behavior* 30, no. 1 (1983): 97–102.

56. D. A. Zellner, W. F. Stewart, P. Rozin, and J. M. Brown, "Effect of Temperature and Expectations on Liking for Beverages," *Physiology and Behavior* 44, no. 1 (1988): 61–68. The neuroscientist Gordon Shepherd describes how brains can become conditioned to manifest cravings—essentially food desires that transcend hunger and "pleasant" taste. Gordon M. Shepherd, *Neurogastronomy: How the Brain Creates Flavor and Why It Matters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 165.

57. It's also worth noting that some cultures, particularly in Asia, will advise against the consumption of cold food and drink in order to manage individual health. See Linda C. Koo, "The Use of Food to Treat and Prevent Disease in Chinese Culture," *Social Science and Medicine* 18, no. 9 (1984): 757–66.

58. Alison K. Ventura and Julie A. Mennella, "Innate and Learned Preferences for Sweet Taste during Childhood," *Clinical Nutrition and Metabolic Care* 14, no. 4 (2011): 379–84.

59. These communities continue to be systemically racialized through biomedical and genomic research. For more, see Anthony Ryan Hatch, *Blood Sugar: Racial Pharmacology and Food Justice in Black America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

60. Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power* (New York: Viking, 1985).

61. Ashanté M. Reese, "Tarry with Me: Reclaiming Sweetness in an Anti-Black World," *Oxford American*, no. 112 (Spring 2021), <https://www.oxfordamerican.org/magazine/issue-112-spring-2021/tarry-with-me>.

62. At the end of this book I expand my scope to Hawai'i's urbanizing rural spaces (many of which, into the twentieth century, have become increasingly urbanized themselves). There are, however, important exceptions to this trend. See Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor, *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Mehana Blaich Vaughan, *Kaiāulu: Gathering Tides* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2018).

63. Gavan Daws, "Honolulu in the 19th Century: Notes on the Emergence of Urban Society in Hawai'i," *Journal of Pacific History* 2 (1967): 77.

64. This point is inspired by Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

65. To echo Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 239.

66. Ray Jerome Baker, *Honolulu Then and Now: A Photographic Record of Progress in the City of Honolulu. Illustrated with 172 Original Photographic Prints* (Honolulu: R. J. Baker, 1941), plate 64.

67. The body of literature I refer to here excludes the dynamic debates over race, sovereignty, and politics occurring within Hawaiian print culture, which were prolific across the nineteenth century. See David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). For more on the politics of identity and “Hawaiianness,” see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

68. *Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book of American Winter Resorts* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895), 120.

69. Kyla Schuller argues in *The Biopolitics of Feeling* that “sentimentalism [as an aesthetic mode, epistemology, and ontology] served to explain how an originally separate individual could be affectively and politically reconciled to its material coexistence with the external environment it depended on for self-constitution.” Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 4.

70. Schuller, *Biopolitics of Feeling*, 15.

71. A concise overview of Hawai‘i’s colonization appears in Walter H. Hixson’s “‘Spaces of Denial’: American Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i and Alaska,” in his *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 145–66.

72. Asserted in the foundational work of Haunani-Kay Trask, the self-indigenization of “locals” presents yet another wave of foreign claims over Native Hawaiian lands. “They claim Hawai‘i as their own,” she writes, “denying indigenous history, their long collaboration in our continued dispossession, and the benefits therefrom.” Trask suggests, in turn, that substituting “local” for “immigrant” (as a gloss for “settler”) produces an effect in which immigrant claims to belonging are normalized through the frameworks of American nationalism. “Simply said,” she writes, “‘locals’ want to be ‘Americans.’” Haunani-Kay Trask, “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony: ‘Locals’ in Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 2, 20.

73. See Nitasha Tamar Sharma, *Hawai‘i Is My Haven: Race and Indigeneity in the Black Pacific* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021); Seri Kau‘ikealaula Luangphinit, “Homeward Bound: Settler Aesthetics in Hawai‘i’s Literature,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 48, no. 1 (2006): 54–78; Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008).

74. Glen Grant and Dennis M. Ogawa, “Living Proof: Is Hawai‘i the Answer?,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530, no. 1 (1993): 147.

75. The tensions at play between the commodification of aloha and Hawaiian cultural forms are powerfully unpacked in Stephanie Nohelani Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

76. Important to the landscapes of race and power that I’m describing here are

the theorizations of Asian settler colonialism produced by Hawai'i-based scholars. See Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism*.

77. US Census Bureau, "Hawaii: 2000," DP-1. *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics*, May 2001, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2001/dec/2kh.html>.

78. "O'ahu Land Divisions," in Kamehameha Schools, *Hawaiian Place Names: The Significance of Hawaiian Sites, Their Locations, and Interpretation of Their Names* 2, no. 1 (1987), http://manoa.hawaii.edu/coe/kulia/resources/ahupuaa_maps/OahuAhupuaa.pdf.

79. Though Honolulu continues to serve as Hawai'i's central urban hub, the islands are becoming increasingly urbanized overall, with Hawai'i's *Civil Beat* reporting that 92 percent of residents now live in an urban area known to be one of the most expensive in the United States. HNN Staff, "No Surprises Here: Hawaii Named Priciest State in the Nation," *Hawaii News Now*, July 12, 2018; Sean Connelly, "Urbanism as Island Living in Honolulu," *Civil Beat*, August 21, 2014, <https://www.civilbeat.org/2014/08/urbanism-as-island-living-in-honolulu/>.

80. Shawn Malia Kana'iaupuni, Wendy M. Kekahio, Kā'eo Duarte, and Brandon C. Ledward, "Material and Economic Well-Being," in *Ka Huaka'i: 2014 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 88–134. Also see Williamson Chang and Abbey Seitz, "It's Time to Acknowledge Native Hawaiians' Special Right to Housing," *Civil Beat*, January 8, 2021, <https://www.civilbeat.org/2021/01/its-time-to-acknowledge-native-hawaiians-special-right-to-housing/>. Studies of urban indigeneity, like those by Penelope Edmonds, Ann Laura Stoler, and Maria John, reveal the ways that the city operates as a complex site of Indigenous world-making, in which expressions of self-determination respond to, navigate, and often exceed the demands of settler society. Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*; Maria John, "Sovereign Bodies: Urban Indigenous Health and the Politics of Self-Determination in Seattle and Sydney, 1950–1980" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2016).

81. Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Audra Simpson, "Whither Settler Colonialism?," *Settler Colonial Studies* 6, no. 4 (2016): 438–45. Also see Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

82. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*; Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire*.

83. Here Wolfe borrows from Deborah Bird Rose, *Hidden Histories: Black Stories from Victoria River Downs, Humbert River, and Wave Hill Stations* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1991), 46. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388. Scott Lauria Morgensen argues that biopolitics, in fact, constitutes a feature of settler colonialism, writing that "Western law incorporates Indigenous peoples while simultaneously pursuing their elimination. . . . These historical processes ultimately enact biopower as a persistent activity of settler states that were never decolonised and of the global regimes that extend and naturalise their power." Scott

Lauria Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 2011): 53–54.

84. Freidberg, *Fresh*.

85. Rees, *Refrigeration Nation*, 7.

86. Susanne Freidberg, “Moral Economies and the Cold Chain,” *Historical Research* 88, no. 239 (February 2015): 126.

87. Shane Hamilton, *Trucking Country: The Road to America’s Wal-Mart Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Rees, *Refrigeration Nation*.

88. Scholars of infrastructure, as anthropologist Brian Larkin points out, often erroneously preface their studies by echoing Susan Leigh Star’s assertion that infrastructures are, by nature, invisible until they break down. Larkin argues that this notion is “fundamentally inaccurate” for several reasons, including the fact that lived reality is shaped by “an embodied experience governed by the ways infrastructures produce the ambient conditions of everyday life: our sense of temperature, speed, florescence, and the ideas we have associated with these conditions.” Brian Larkin, “The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 336.

89. The rest of Hawai‘i’s food—around 88.4 percent—is imported, primarily from continental US distribution hubs located more than 2,300 miles away in California. Of the imported foods to Hawai‘i, approximately 81 percent comes from the continental United States and the rest from other foreign markets. Matthew K. Loke and PingSun Leung, “Hawai‘i’s Food Consumption and Supply Sources: Benchmark Estimates and Measurement Issues,” *Agricultural and Food Economics* 1, no. 10 (2013): n.p.

90. The Hawai‘i State House self-sufficiency bill HB2703 HD2 as quoted in George Kent, “Food Security in Hawai‘i,” in *Food and Power in Hawai‘i: Visions on Food Democracy*, ed. Aya Hirata Kimura and Krisnawati Suryanata (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016), 39.

91. “Hawaii May Be the Happiest State, but It Also Has the Highest Food Prices,” *USA Today*, March 21, 2019.

92. Thomas C. Frohlich, “Where You’ll Pay the Most in Electric Bills,” 24/7 Wall St. (blog), accessed July 11, 2019, <https://247wallst.com/special-report/2019/01/24/where-youll-pay-the-most-in-electric-bills-3/>.

93. This is not unique to Hawai‘i: nearly all of the island “possessions” of the United States are beholden to American cold chains. I address this more fully in the conclusion.

94. This thermal system links “households to global networks of frozen food provisioning and to discourses and ideologies of care, convenience, health, well-being and family life.” Jenny Rinkinen, Elizabeth Shove, and Mattijs Smits, “Cold Chains in Hanoi and Bangkok: Changing Systems of Provision and Practice,” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 19, no. 3 (2019): 379–97.

95. Jayna Omaye, “O‘ahu in 1978: Housing Prices on the Rise in Hawai‘i,” *Honolulu Magazine*, June 6, 2019, <https://www.honolulumagazine.com/oahu-in-1978-housing-prices-on-the-rise-in-hawaii/>.

96. The 'ohana unit must also be attached by roof to the existing house, containing only a "wet bar" in lieu of a kitchen. Ryan Shidaki, "Multigenerational Living in the Urban High-Rise: Designing for Hawai'i's Extended Family" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 2009).

97. "The Cost of Living in Hawai'i 2020: The Ultimate Guide to the Price of Paradise," *Dwell Hawai'i* (blog), May 23, 2020, <https://www.dwellhawaii.com/blog/what-cost-living-hawaii-2020/>.

98. Cathy Possedi, "Accessory Dwelling Units Become Legal in Honolulu County," *Hawai'i Life Real Estate Brokers* (blog), September 22, 2015, <https://www.hawaiilife.com/blog/accessory-dwelling-units-legal-in-honolulu/>.

99. Nicole E. Johns, "The Wealth (and Health) of Nations: Estimating Inequality to Better Estimate Health" (paper presented at the annual conference of Global Health Metrics and Evaluation: Data, Debates, Directions, Seattle, WA, June 18, 2013).

100. Emily Yates-Doerr, "Refrigerator Units, Normal Goods," *Limn* 4 (2014), <https://limn.it/articles/refrigerator-units-normal-goods/>.

101. Christina Jedra, "Hawai'i Is No Longer No. 1 for Homelessness. New York Is Worse," *Civil Beat*, January 7, 2020, <https://www.civilbeat.org/2020/01/hawaii-is-no-longer-no-1-for-homelessness-new-york-is-worse/>. Police regularly sweep the encampments that line city sidewalks and beaches in an effort to diminish the visibility of systemic impoverishment. Christina Jedra, "Hawai'i Increases Funding for Homeless Sweeps," *Civil Beat*, June 26, 2020, <https://www.civilbeat.org/2020/06/hawaii-increases-funding-for-homeless-sweeps/>.

102. In sharp contrast to the bureaucratically defined single-family home, Tatiana Kalaniopua Young writes movingly that for houseless community members living in Pu'uhonua o Wai'anae, an encampment on the west shore of O'ahu, "'home' was defined as 'places where you feel like returning to' and 'places of safety.'" "Home Is What We Make It," in *The Value of Hawai'i 3: Huliha, the Turning*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, Craig Howes, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, and Aikko Yamashiro (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), 176. See also Kalaniopua Young, "Constellations of Rebellion: Home, Makeshift Economies and Queer Indigeneity" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2019). For more on the intimate regulation of public life in Hawai'i, see Gaye Chan and Nandita Sharma, "Eating in Public" (lecture, Department of Social and Cultural Analysis, New York University, New York, October 27, 2015).

103. Bianca Isaki, "HB 645, Settler Sexuality, and the Politics of Local Asian Domesticity in Hawai'i," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 2 (2011): 82–102.

1. A PREHISTORY OF THE ARTIFICIAL COLD

1. I choose to primarily spell the name Maunakea as a single word that denotes the mountain as a proper noun, since in the Hawaiian language, Mauna Kea could refer to any "white mountain." However, Hawaiians also commonly refer to the mountain as Mauna a Wākea, or the Mountain of Wākea, the primordial father of earthy life. In testimony submitted in opposition to the TMT during the 2016